1: Lévi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939) 1948 SP17 Nambicuara SP17

[End Plate III]

231
302
301
142

301
304
302
142

1. Female type of group c (note the little monkey Cebus sp. on her head, cf. p. 73). 2. Male types of group a2.

[End Plate IV]

516
142
302
291

[432
411]
415

[231
342
415]
285

[231
222]
482
855

1. Return from the bath. 2. Native C11 leaving for a solitary hunting expedition. 3-4. Camp life (cf. p. 16). 5. Little girl looking for edible roots and carrying a little monkey (Lagothrix sp.) on her head. 6. The two little girls a8 and a9 (cf. p. 42).

[End Plate V]

291
142
302

[301
48
231]

[515
607
301]

[526
832]

1. The little girl b5 and her dog (cf. p. 70). 2. Three sisters-in-law delousing each other (cf. p. 75). 3-4. Erotic games (A1 and a4) are hard to distinguish from contests of friendly scuffling where children add themselves willingly to the secondary wives and their husband (cf. pp. 62 and 69).

[End Plate VII]

291
302
301
516

[607]

Brothers-in-law (cf. p. 76); in the foreground, B1.

[595]

The two wives of C20 (c19 and c21) engaged in a pleasant conversation.

[End Plate VII]

517
516
855
142
302
301

Family life: The woman a22 and her baby a23 in a state of ease (cf. p. 106 ff.).

756
593
301
142

The shaman of group c (C20) plays with one of his two wives (c21).

2: Lévi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939)1948
SP17 Nambicuara SP17



and dots hanging down from the nape of the neck. A similar but shorter headdress may be worn in daily life.

Hair is groomed with a composite comb. It is cut with a shell, either all around the head at the level of the ear lobe, or only across the forehead, the back and sides being allowed to fall loose. Body painting consists mainly of urucú smeared uniformly, but some groups roughly trace black dots and stripes with genipa juice on the chest and legs. Face and body hair is generally pulled out, especially by women; men often have a sparse moustache and beard.

### TRANSPORTATION

Canoes are unknown. Small waterways are crossed on a fallen tree; large ones by swimming, sometimes with the help of large floating bundles of buriti palm stems. Babies straddle their mother's hip supported by a large sling of bark or woven cotton.

### MANUFACTURES

**Spinning.**—Women spin cotton with a crude drop spindle made of grass stalk. The whorl is a wild fruit, a potsherd, or a conical piece of sun-dried clay. Cotton thread is rolled in a ball and, like everything else in a *Nambicuara* household, wrapped in leaves. Women and men twist tucum and buriti fibers on their thighs to make string.

**Weaving.**—Weaving is limited to cotton bands and belts which men make on small, rough looms of the "*Arawak*" type (pl. 37, *center, right*).

**Basketry.**—Men make long, open-mouthed, cylindrical baskets using bamboo strips and a hexagonal, open weave. Fire fans are plaited of palm leaves. The *Northern Nambicuara* used palm leaves to weave low square baskets for storing the manioc and maize flour.

**Pottery.**—Pottery is unknown among the *Eastern Nambicuara*. In other groups, women make coarse pots of varying sizes. They mix the clay with ashes, fire the pot in the open, and wash it while it is still hot in an infusion of resinous bark.

**Implements.**—Stone ax heads were formerly fixed with wax and strings in the loop of a bent handle. Knives and drills are made of a crude flint chip or piece of iron fastened with wax and thread at the end of a piece of wood or between two pieces of wood, which form the handle. Women hollow small cylindrical mortars in tree trunks by means of fire. Fire is made with a fire drill, crude rubber serving as tinder. The Indians burn almecega (*Tetragastris balsamifera*) resin for light. Knives are thin, sharp-edged pieces of wood.

**Weapons.**—The *Nambicuara* bow is about 5 to 7 feet (2 m.) long, the section being flat, semicircular, or concave according to the group. The grip is wrapped with cotton. The arrow is released between the thumb and the first finger, the three other fingers being placed on the

2: Lévi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939)1948
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

142
714
534
301
291
302

[516]

PLATE 36.—Nambicuara types. *Top, left:* Man wearing war headdress. *Top, right:* Playing the nose flute. *Center, left:* Young girl. *Center, right:* Portrait of man. *Bottom, left:* Panpipes. *Bottom, right:* Young married girl. (Courtesy Claude Lévi-Strauss, except *center, left,* by courtesy American Museum of Natural History.)

[end plate 1]

291 Around the waist both men and women wear a buritĭ cord; if possible, this string is strung with glass store beads. In addition, men sometimes suspend a lenth of buritĭ fiber from the front of the belt.

●302 Men paint their faces with urucú, drawing a band from each side of the forehead down to the chin, another band across the eyes and bridge of the nose, and then a band from under each eye across the cheeks. On the body they draw two stripes, starting from the abdomen up to the nipples and then over to each shoulder. The arms and legs are dotted with red or black spots. The hair is seldom smeared with urucú.

## SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

(See chart 13) 1/1

619 The names of the Eastern Nambicuara bands appear to be derived from characteristics peculiar
621 to the band territory. The Waklĭtisu are cayman people for there are many caymans (*waklisu*) in their territory. The Elótasu are open plains people, for they live on the open plain (*toku*) of the upper Camararé River. The Kitánhlu get their name from a small fruit called *tantu*. The Chiwáisu are bee people from the word *waisu*, bee. The Hégndisu are buritĭ fruit (*héeru*) people. Although these bands are not politically united under a single chief, and sometimes even resort to open conflict, they consider themselves a single people, or as Julio phrased it, "We can speak with one another and we came from the same hole in the stone mountain."

619 The origin myth of the Eastern Nambicuara, as
773 it is told among the Waklĭtisu band, can be summarized as follows:

Before the Nambicuara came there were only animals, birds, plants, and beings who could change from animal and bird to human form. At that time the Nambicuara were inside a stone mountain called *yahsinduruksisu*, which is situated north of the telegraph line near Campos Novos (roughly in the center of the territory now occupied by the Eastern Nambicuara). One day the monkeys heard people speaking inside the mountain and went to tell *oklihdítlisu* who changed himself into a black and white woodpecker and flew with all his strength against the mountain. When the mountain broke some were killed and some injured but many came out alive. The ghosts of the dead people remained around the mountain where they still are and where all Nambicuara go after they die. The injured people *oklihdítlisu* sent into the bush, but the people who were sound of body he put into good clean places and gave them the piuva bow and taught them how

1/1 [Cat. 116, p. 123.—Analysis] [p. 96 (A)]

881 baked manioc and other food which they have been preparing. When the messenger leaves with the food it is a sign that the men will return to camp after sunset.

Before the men arrive the women wash the girl and paint her with a mixture which includes latex from the rubber tree. A series of dots are painted on her face, breasts, abdomen, and thighs (pl. 6, *c* and *d*). When the men come in they dance in front of the girl's hut. She then comes out and is given a name and everyone tries to give her a necklace or some other object. During the night men and women join in the dance, holding hands and dancing in a circle, the dance steps being stamped out with the right foot in the direction in which the circle is moving. A special puberty song is also sung.

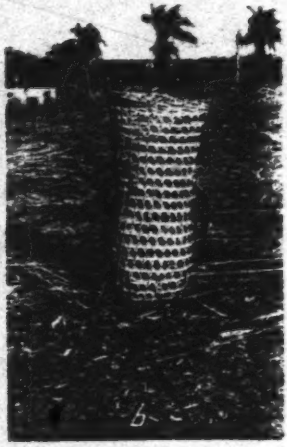
881 841 278 The Nambicuara tell of a strange medicine known only to the shamans which is given to girls during the puberty ceremony. It is a blue liquid which, when taken internally, stops menstrual bleeding for the remainder of the girl's life. The Waklítisu claim that they do not use it but that the other Eastern Nambicuara band do. The missionaries informed me that the Kitánrhu use this medicine, and the missionaries seemed to think that it was effective.

## MARRIAGE

582 585 There is no special marriage ceremony, for when young people go through the puberty rites they are ready for marriage and a mate is selected for them by their parents. The young man, who 584 is to become the husband of a girl just out of 585 seclusion, goes to her parents and helps his future father-in-law build a small hut, and when it is finished the young man tells the girl to come out hunting with him. She takes a burden basket and they go off into the woods. In the afternoon the man builds a fire and tells the girl to prepare some food and honey. After the food has been eaten he tells the girl to come and lie beside him near the fire. She is supposed to resist and he takes a stick and threatens her. He then has sexual intercourse with her, and when they come back to camp that night they are accepted as a [587] married couple. When wives are acquired by inheriting the widow of a brother or by abduction from other bands, no ceremony is held.

[P. 104 (A)]

372
316
415
482



881
301
302
291
142

PLATE 8.—Nambikwara women.—a, Cassava making Rev. b, Nambikwara basket basket. c and d, Nambikwara girl with necklaces and painted designs in preparation for puberty ceremony. (By courtesy of Rev. L. Bashkow.)

[p. 136 (I)]

## Chapter VIII

## Physical Anthropology and Pathology

123 [175] Unfortunately in 1912 the Nambicuara were not yet sufficiently accustomed to the presence of strangers in their mountains. In spite of their bribed willingness, they viewed my research with justifiable suspicion.

101 124 The Indians who were examined belonged to the following groups:[1] Cocozu, Anunze, Tagnani and Tawite [Tauité]. Among the Uaintacu, a still hostile group, I was able to gather only one incomplete set of data. The state of excitement of the Indian during the examination did not permit better results.

142 Their skin is the color of yellowish burned sienna, dark among the Cocozu, light among the others. Some Tagnani individuals have an almost pinkish complexion. Many nearly black types are found among the Indians of the Juruena and Juina rivers; those are the darkest Indians in Brazil. On the Roquette-Childe color scale used in the National Museum of Rio de Janeiro, the coloring of these Indians varies between numbers six and ten.

The skin is coarse and wrinkled.

The hair is straight and coarse (lissotrichous). Some individuals have wavy hair similar to that of the Polynesians. The Indians 302 usually pull out their body and face hair and cut it on the forehead with a bivalve shell. [176] A few of them leave some strands of hair above or below the lips.

[264] Nearly all permit their nails to grow freely, for they make useful implements to tear the meat at mealtime.

[147] The soles of their feet never become thickly callused as those of Negroes who go barefoot.

142 Their feet are relatively large, their legs slender and muscular. The abdomen is prominent, the hands small. The chest is knotty [encordoado] and not very large.

141 The measurements which we were able to obtain for normal adult males are shown in Tables A[2] and B.

[2] [See pp. 66-67, category 116. —Analyst]

[1] [Nambicuara sub-groups— Analyst]

7: Roquette-Pinto--2A E-4, 5 (no date)1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
(ca. 1912)

[176]

142
301
302
304

Nambicuara Indian

Uaidnirida--Indian of the Juina River

Serra do Norte Indian

Nambicuara Indian

164 These papery scales cannot be removed easily; I noticed that they did not come off when the woman scratched herself. I believe that the itching is much less severe at this time; it seemed more intense during the initial stages.

I cannot be definite about the time span of the disease. The symptoms evolve in a few days from the first to the second stage, but the latter seems quite prolonged.

[183] Some of the scabs contain incipient papery scales. However, as I had the opportunity to see only one woman and one girl, her daughter, whose bodies were entirely covered with the lesions of the last stage, I believe that the disease does not always reach this point. It may remain stationary at the second stage, or it may recede [involuir].

For the time being, therefore, I ascribe three stages to the disease:

(a) the cyst stage
(b) the scab stage
(c) the scale stage

I believe that these correspond to evolutionary phases of the same disease, and not to different diseases, because I found transitional forms on some of the affected individuals.

Besides, [the Indians] indicated by means of very clear signs that the final symptoms began with the cyst stage, the only one found in nursing children.

[757] The Indians spread saliva on the scabs; we do not know yet [278] whether they use any herb against the disease. They probably do, for veritable herbariums were found in their villages.

302 751 Another question that remains to be solved is the possible effect on the disease of the Indians' custom of painting their body with a greasy paste made from the juice of the urucu seeds. (1)

[113]

1. Alvaro Osorio de Almeida (in the Boletim do Museu Nacional, Vol. 7, 1931, No. 1) studies the reactions of skin painted with urucu to the actinic rays of light and to solar heat. His experiments led him to the following conclusions:

"Once smeared with urucu, the

302
751

Indians are as well protected against the actinic action of the sun as if they were wearing the thick clothing of the Sahara tribes. Because they are nude, however, the air circulates freely around their body, reducing the heat and hastening the evaporation of perspiration.

"If exposed to sunlight, in accordance with the property described above, urucu absorbs only slightly the heat of the sun, reflecting the red rays and also the heat rays. For this reason the white man or one with slight pigmentation, when smeared with urucu, does not perspire excessively as does the Negro under the same circumstances.

"In view of the properties ascribed to urucu by our experiments, and of the widespread usage of this dye among the Indians of tropical America, we believe that it should be considered not as merely ornamental but as an effective means of protection against tropical light and heat."

164 [184] The manifestations and evolution of the disease lead us to believe that it is a dermatomycosis. The habitat of the pathogenic fungus is probably to be found in the soil. This would explain why the personnel of the Line, who have lived among the Nambicuara for years, have not yet contracted the disease. This also applies to the Paressi, [513] who are now in contact with the diseased Indians. Both groups, unlike the Nambicuara, make use of hammocks and never sleep on the ground.

To this day, no microscopic examination of the scales has been made, and I am not responsible for this failure. In 1912 the Indians [123] would not allow us to collect the necessary materials; they were still suspicious.

7: Roquette-Pinto--8A E-4, 5 (no date)1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17 (ca. 1912)

[ 184]

164
142
302

Indian woman of the Serra do Norte

Skin disease of the Serra do Norte Indians (unretouched photograph)

Nambicuara Indian

Tawite Nambicuara

291 around the ankles. The Tagnani and Tawite wear similar bands on
184 their upper and lower limbs; theirs, however, are made of cotton, which is used occasionally by the Cocozu to manufacture articles of this sort. [Plates p. 242.] Among the Tagnani and Tawite [239], men often cover their sexual organs with the ends of the straw cord that encloses their hips. But this is not the rule. The Uaintaçu rarely wear any of those bands; and among all groups, a few of the Indians always go completely naked.

[Fig. 29]

291 The women and pubescent girls, young and old, single and married, always wear the hip cord.

[843] Some pregnant women I saw did not wear it; I believe they had freed their abdomen from this strong pressure in order to breathe more easily, or perhaps for fear that the girdle should have a pernicious influence on the foetus.

● 302 They always wear their hair long, hanging over the shoulders; they clip it irregularly on the forehead with a bivalve shell or a cane splinter. They liked to have us cut it with scissors.

291 They are extremely fond of the hats we wear; it seemed to me that the heat of the sun on their head distressed them greatly. They will give almost as much for a hat as for an iron axe.

301 One of the jaguar-hide helmets which are now in the [National] Museum was obtained in the village of Urutaú in exchange for an old and well-worn hat of ours, in spite of the fact that those helmets are highly prized [by the Indians].

They do not normally wear hide or feather head ornaments. When they are in a festive mood, they cover themselves with crowns [diadems] that will be described later, or with jaguar-hide helmets. It is likely that they also use such ornaments for certain ceremonies, but we ascertained nothing about this.

[Fig. 32]

[240] From their ears they hang triangles of mother-of-pearl, [304] which they extract from river shells; when the hole tears, splitting the lobe in two, they do not hesitate to bore another one.

[562] The men are much vainer than the women; they adorn themselves with feather diadems, earrings, pendants and necklaces, while the women limit themselves to a few of these.

301 imitate our wedding rings; necklaces [242], several meters long, made of black beads; the feathers of black birds; the limbs of coleopters, also black; all attest to this preference.

[Fig. 45]

[237] The women make beautiful one-piece bracelets from the tail rings of the giant armadillo which they polish with wet stones. [See Fig. 65, p. 59A]

[184] The Uaintaçu Nambicuara, who come to Campos Novos by way of the Guaporé and who are much more insolent, crude, wary and suspicious, do not attempt to wear the delicate lip plugs used by their relatives.

Some of them wear a porcupine quill fastened to their lip; others, a wooden splinter or a spike from some tree.

291 562 Also characteristic of the whole Serra do Norte and Juruena Valley is a palm-fiber cape (ialaçu), which hangs down the backbone from the neck. [See Fig. 66, p. 59B.] Women do not wear it; it is another example of male foppishness.

302 Body painting with urucu constitutes part of the ornamentation for men as well as for women.

[Plates, p. 236]

[243] They paint themselves on festive occasions; they do not [515] draw lines on the skin, but smear the dye all over their face. Women, after bathing, redden their whole body in this fashion.

[Fig. 44]

[384] The Indians of the Juruena dissolve the urucu powder in pure water; the Tagnani prepare a paste or cream by mixing the dye with the fat of various animals, and perfume it quite pleasantly by way of some unknown process. (1)

1. The Bororo use mastic resin to perfume the urucu paste. See Alfredo de Andrade, "Estudo dos materiaes corantes [A Study of Coloring Materials]," Archivos do Museu Nacional, Vol. 28, p. 183.

302 Whenever they received good presents such as axes or beads,
[43] they would go to the brook and return with their whole face set ablaze by the blood-colored paint.

[609] This practice was carried out on outsiders by the Tagnani as a mark of special esteem. We were all granted this honor in Três Buritis...

The men do not pluck their pubic or axillar hair; sometimes they even grow a sparse mustache or an even sparser beard. The women depilate themselves completely.

487 [244] The foot paths they use are narrow, similar to cow paths in pastoral regions; in certain areas, the ground is criss-crossed with them. They also make lanes in the woods by cutting branches.

To cross a small river they make a footbridge by cutting down a tree on the bank and guiding its fall in the right direction.

501 If the river is wide, they make a bundle of muriti leaves as a float and allow the current to carry them diagonally across the stream.

[Fig. 36]

481 They are not familiar with the canoe or with navigation; they are good swimmers.

They walk fast. They cover many leagues a day, always at a brisk pace--the "long stride" [marcha em extensão] of the physiologists--with the muscles taut, the body erect.

224 The hunting of big game--tapir, capybara, the Rondon Commission's horses and donkeys--is carried out in groups. For certain species they use special arrows that will be described later.

227 In fishing they do not use fishhooks, but special arrows. (1)

The Tagnani also use a kind of fish trap.

1. According to Ehrenreich the hook is not habitually used by the Indians because of the piranha fish (Pygocentrus sp.) which are so voracious that they do not allow the fisherman to gather in his catch. Nevertheless, a hook made of thorn--the so-called pindá dos tupis [Tupian fishhook]--is found in many areas.

[Fig. 37]

●302



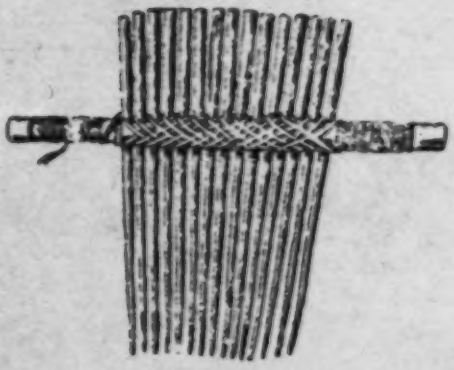


Fig. 38. Halatzũ. Serra do Norte comb.

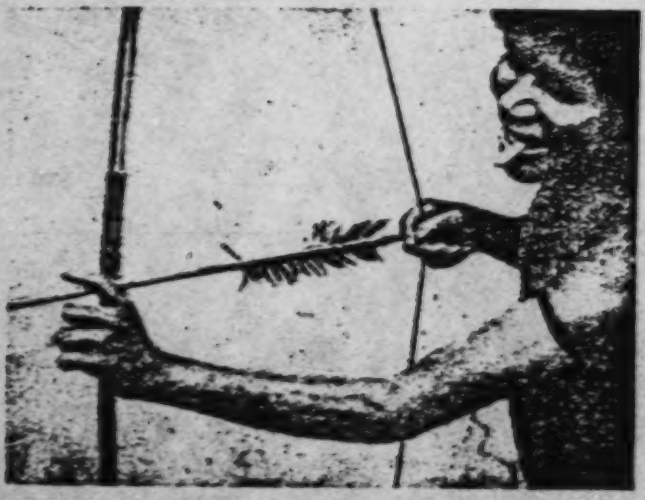
7:Roquette-Pinto--38B E-4, 5 (no date)1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
(ca. 1912)

[opp. p. 248]

302
316

Cocozu Nambicuara

411
301



Nambicuara Indian stringing his bow.

7-Roquette-Pinto--438 E-4, 5 (no date)1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
(ca. 1912)

[opp. p. 254]

142
Bmo.
291
301
516

Anunze women.

Tawite camp at Tres Buritis.

542 treated with great affection. The men are jealous of their wives, and
[837] the women take pride in being faithful. In this respect they are quite unlike their neighbors, the Paressi women...

832 The couples are always petting each other, and no caress seems
302 sweeter and more tender to the lover than the woman's fingers running through his hair. This is easy to understand, for the Nambicuara head swarms with vermin...

[Fig. 38]

585 According to reports of the soldier Gouveia, marriage is a simple ceremony. The man asks the father of his beloved for consent to the union. If the father agrees, he gives the bridegroom a bow and a sheaf of arrows, telling him that with these weapons he must support the family he is about to form. That is all.

851 To show that a boy is the son of a certain man, they use in
201 their innocence an expressive gesture: they join the thumb and index finger of the left hand, in the shape of a ring, around the right extended index finger. Then they tap the child and father on the shoulder, saying "Uétü!" (son).

883 They show great respect for old people and spare them all possible effort. When we returned from the village on the Urutau to the post on the Juina, they had us carry [258] on the bow of our saddles the baskets of two old men from the group that accompanied us in search of gifts. The young men and the women all carried their own atiçú and did not ask for help.

771 As to their religion, we know only that it is fetishistic. We know nothing of its cult or system, and even less of its dogma. [Fig. 33]

821 The northern groups seem to be tending toward astrolatry. Once
[771] when I had threatened the moon and the stars with an arrow, poised ready on a strung bow, several Tagnani rose abruptly and halted my gesture, speaking very excitedly, scolding me, and taking the weapon away from me as if it were a sacrilege.

The Cocozu and Anunze threaten the storm with their weapons, waving their arms in all directions and cursing the rain in loud yells.

Sometimes, instead, the women climb on a termite nest where they let out puffs of smoke and throw ashes into the air to frighten the storm.

764 We do not know anything as yet about their funeral rites. It has been ascertained, however, that they do not cremate their dead and do not eat them. They bury them directly [259] in the ground--the Cocozu in circular pits, the Tagnani in elongated graves.

Plate III



A



B



C



D

/See captions on next page../

8:Vellard--16 D, E-5 (1938) 1939 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
Çabanè

Plate IV

278
142
415
302
516

A

B

278
415
516

C

Preparation of Çabanè curare (Vilhena region)

A-B. Draining of the bark with cold water.

C. After boiling the liquid is transferred into another receptacle where it will be concentrated at low heat.

8:Vellard--17 D,E-5 (1938) 1939 SP17 Nambicuara SP17

Sabanè

Plate V



A



B



C



D

/See captions on next page./